

# DIRECT LEGISLATION

OR THE

## INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL

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DIRECT LEGISLATION WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO STOP  
GRAFT, REDUCE THE TAX RATE AND BRING ABOUT HON-  
ESTY IN THE POLITICS OF THE STATE.

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THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE BROUGHT CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE



THOMAS JEFFERSON

*"The people will always be nearer  
right than those who have a selfish  
interest in controlling them" \* \* \*  
They must "provide new guards for  
their future security."*



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

*"That government of the people,  
by the people, for the people shall  
not perish from the earth"—Gettys-  
burg speech."*

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AFTER READING GIVE THIS PAMPHLET TO YOUR NEIGHBOR AND ORDER  
ANOTHER, FREE, FOR YOURSELF

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Send for a Constitution and Declaration of Prin-  
ciples, and Organize a Branch League in Your Own  
Locality.

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"Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?"—Abraham Lincoln.



SHALL OUR LEGISLATURE CONTROL THE PEOPLE, OR  
SHALL THE PEOPLE CONTROL THE LEGISLATURE?



SHALL LEGISLATORS AND OTHER OFFICERS  
BE THE SERVANTS OR THE MASTERS OF THE PUBLIC?



SHALL WE HAVE A COMMON-SENSE, BUSINESS GOVERNMENT, OR SHALL WE ALLOW PRIVILEGE-SEEKING INTERESTS AND POLITICIANS TO RUN THE STATE FOR US?

## CITIZENS OF WASHINGTON:

Present political evils are not caused by any weakness in government by the people; they arise because we do not have government by a real majority of the people. Let us trace these evils to their source and endeavor to find a remedy for them.

"Majority rule," with equal representation of all citizens in legislative bodies, is the basis of free government; there is no other guaranty of liberty and equal rights. In accordance with majority rule the people elect agents to represent them in the law-making

### TAXES ARE TOO HIGH.

You can greatly reduce them by supporting Direct Legislation. This reform will secure to the people the power to reject all improper appropriations or expenditures made by the legislature or other public officers. The greatest leakage of public funds, and the main cause of our increased tax rate, can be traced to these sources. Justice Howard, of the New York Supreme Court, estimates that "Forty per cent of all money appropriated for public use is lost in graft and waste."



bodies of the city, state or nation. The people have the right to demand the same faithfulness from their agents that a private business man demands from his agent. "Government is nothing but business—the people's business." Plainly, then, if the public is to expect results equal to those obtained in private affairs the same methods of business and common sense must be applied. But do we apply common sense? Let us see.

The business man can *direct* his agents, or can discharge them if they prove unfaithful or incompetent—that is common sense. The people of the State of Washington *cannot direct* their legislative agents, and *cannot* discharge them when they are unfaithful or incompetent—that is foolishness.

It is surely desirable that the government of this state shall be at least as businesslike and as pure as the majority of the citizens. We, therefore, propose a proven measure that will introduce *direct business methods* into state, county and city affairs. The measure is called

## DIRECT LEGISLATION

OR

### THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL

The INITIATIVE is power reserved by the qualified voters to propose a law, by petition of eight per cent of them, for action by the legislature. Such law may be voted on by the whole people if the legislature does not act on it.

The REFERENDUM is power reserved by the qualified voters to demand, by petition of five per cent of them, that any law passed by the legislature shall be referred to the people for decision at the polls. No laws are referred to the people unless petitioned for or unless the legislature voluntarily submits them.

The RECALL is power reserved by the qualified voters to dis-

charge any public officer. This is done by calling a special election, which must be petitioned for by not less than twenty-five per cent of the voters qualified to vote on the question. At such election the accused officer may be a candidate to succeed himself.

*With this machinery the people may, over the head of the legislature if necessary, initiate good laws, reject bad laws, or recall an unfaithful or incompetent officer.*

## TWO STRIKING ILLUSTRATIONS

In 1901 Albert L. Johnson, a legitimate trolley line operator, asked for street railway privileges in unoccupied streets of Philadelphia. He offered 3-cent fares and free transfers. His request was pigeonholed, but a little while afterward the council gave the identical franchises to a gang of politicians. John Wanamaker, to show the people the value of the rights they were losing, offered to pay \$3,000,000.00 for the franchises if they were valid; but the mayor signed the grants to the conspirators, and the city received *no compensation whatever!* This act of defiance of the public will aroused the indignation of the city and the nation, but without Direct Legislation the outraged citizens were helpless.

Note the contrast in Kansas City, in December, 1909, under Direct Legislation. Sixteen years before the franchises held by the traction interests of that city were to expire, their holders sought to extend them an additional twenty-six years, or a total of forty-two years. The terms of the extension were not fair to the city. The council granted the franchise, but the people filed a Referendum petition which brought the grant to an election. Vast sums were spent by the traction interests, but the voters rejected the franchise.

*The people of Kansas City protected their rights by using the proper governmental machinery with which they had been wise enough to provide themselves. The people of Philadelphia, from the lack of such machinery, suffered their rights to be flagrantly violated.*



There is nothing exceptional in these illustrations. They merely show a condition which exists, in greater or less degree, in every city and state in the country.

#### POWER SHOULD BE PLACED WITH THE PEOPLE

Of course, it is not proposed that the people shall do much of the law making, for all have their private affairs to attend to and do not wish to be unduly bothered with these matters. We shall always need the services of trained legislators, and so long as they give us faithful, disinterested and reasonably wise service, we shall not interfere. But we seldom get such service, and we many times need the power of Direct Legislation so that we may lock the barn before the horse is stolen. Without these powers we are not truly self-governing, but merely elect other men to govern us who have, for the most part, been selected by party bosses and machines.

Under our present system the sole law-making power is vested in the legislature. The great store of integrity and political wisdom that rests in the mass of the people is lost because we allow a few legislators, often controlled by corporate and other selfish interests, to dictate the whole policy of the state. *The legislature should advise and lead, but when that body misleads we must have the power to stop it. When this power is once vested in the people, the legislature acts in such a way as to almost obviate the necessity of its use.*

Direct Legislation is not new, strange, vague nor unproven. It has been in force in Switzerland for nearly fifty years, to that nation's great benefit. It has already been adopted in eight states of the Union, and organizations are promoting it in nearly every other state. It has been incorporated in practically every modern city charter, including those of Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma, Bellingham and Everett in our own state. It is in perfect accord with American institutions.

We demand submission to the voters of an amendment to the

state constitution reserving to all the people this great power of direct law-making. Unless this is done, our Supreme Court may yet depart from the precedent set by the Supreme Courts of other states and declare unconstitutional the Direct Legislation clauses that our various cities have already incorporated in their charters.

#### WHERE IT WOULD COME IN HANDY

Notwithstanding that the legislature of 1909 held an expensive extra session to inquire into the affairs of Insurance Commissioner Schively, he will serve out his four-year term. The people, whose servant he is, should have the right to say whether he shall continue in their service or be recalled.

Are there not many people in this state who would have liked a Referendum on the act of the 1909 legislature, which took the nomination of the Supreme Court judges away from the people under the Primary law, and restored it to the political conventions?

Should we not more firmly establish the principle of people's choice of United States senator, than is at present guaranteed by the Primary law? We shall need the Initiative to accomplish it.

We shall need the Initiative in the future to secure the passage of just tax laws. Past experience indicates that tax dodging interests will powerfully oppose such laws.

For many years the dominant political party of this state promised in its platforms to appoint a railway commission; and yet the elected representatives of this party, when once they became seated in the legislature, promptly forgot these promises. They would not have done so had the Recall been in our state constitution.

For many years certain favored banks received the deposit of state funds without paying one cent of interest on them. This practice would not have continued as long as it did if the people had had the Initiative with which to stop it.



The state is not going to ruin; neither are all legislators bad; nevertheless, we insist that it is wise for the people to get the reins of government in their own hands and keep them.

### OBJECTIONS AND ANSWERS

Following are some of the objections urged either by those who do not understand the issue, or by those who fear that the public interest will conflict with their private interest.

*Objection:* "The laws are too complicated for the people to understand." *Answer:* Exactly, and that is the sort of laws, when related to big questions, that we should veto. Laws can and should be made simple and easy to understand.

*Objection:* "It will destroy the dignity of the legislature." *Answer:* To take away from the legislature the power to do wrong will not injure true dignity. As matters now stand, James Bryce, British ambassador to the United States, in his great work "The American Commonwealth," devotes over 100 pages to illustrating and proving that Americans cannot and do not trust their legislatures.

*Objection:* "The people are too ignorant to be trusted with these powers." *Answer:* All American government depends upon the people in the last analysis, hence the importance of educating the mass. Apart from the question of right, perhaps the strongest argument for Direct Legislation is that it will exercise a profound educational influence on the people by compelling them to think, study and act on public affairs. It is weakening to the people to shift responsibility for all laws to the shoulders of their elected agents.

*Objection:* "It is cumbersome." *Answer:* Which is the more cumbersome: to vote on a few simple propositions now and then, or to pile up hundreds of laws at every session of the legislature?

*Objection:* "The people will constantly be seeking change." *Answer:* History proves that there is no more conservative force in society than the people en masse. "All experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed."—*Declaration of Independence*. Experience shows also that there is no growth, no progress, without intelligent change.

*Objection:* "It will keep politics in a constant turmoil." *Answer:* "Under the influence of Direct Legislation a profound change has come over parliament and the people. The net result has been a great tranquilizing of public life."—*Pres. Numa Droz, of Switzerland*. The Swiss need endure no political evil of which the majority does not approve.

*Objection:* "The people will pass hasty and harmful legislation." *Answer:* All observers know that the great need is to check the harmful and hasty acts of the legislature. The people may be trusted to make no laws to injure themselves. Sir Francis Adams, British Minister to Berne, Switzerland, states: "The Referendum has struck root and expanded wherever it has been introduced, and no serious politician of any party would now think of attempting its abolition. The conservatives, who violently opposed its introduction, became its earnest supporters when they found that it undoubtedly acted as a drag upon hasty and radical law-making."

*Objection:* "It will keep the people voting all the time, and the increased cost of elections will make it too expensive." *Answer:* Practically all voting is done at regular elections with little additional cost. Emergency measures for the public peace, health or safety may be passed by three-fourths majority of the legislature, and these are not subject to Referendum until the following regular election. In Oregon, under Direct Legislation, at the election of June, 1908, the total cost of voting on nineteen measures was less than 12 cents for each citizen voting. This includes the cost of printing and mailing to every registered voter, as provided by the law



of that state, a pamphlet describing the laws proposed, and the arguments and reasons for and against them.

*Objection:* "The people are really incapable of self-government." *Answer:* It is not true. Only Tories and aristocrats dare to make this objection, and these are enemies of the American Republic. Self-government is necessary, first for liberty and justice, second for education and manhood.

### OPPOSITION

"We are led to believe that Ohio is possessed of the first league organized to fight Direct Legislation. Its president is Samuel H. West, a Big Four railroad attorney, who, when state senator, led the fight against the measure in 1908. Since retiring from the legislature he has become attorney for the Standard Oil Co. \* \* \* This shows plainly the character of the opposition in Ohio."—*Twentieth Century Magazine*.

*Similar forces may be expected to antagonize the movement in the State of Washington.*

### REASONS FOR DIRECT LEGISLATION

It will eliminate legislative corruption, kill the lobby, stop black-mailing bills, discourage log-rolling, check the passage of private acts, and close the door to franchise steals and all other forms of fraudulent legislation.

It will separate judgment on men from judgment on issues, and will enable voters to enforce their convictions without deserting their party or its candidates. It will, however, tend to diminish blind partisanship.

It will lessen the influence of demagogues, by working an automatic disfranchisement of the unfit, and by bringing out a fuller vote of the more intelligent.

It will serve as a reasonable safety valve for popular discon-

tent. The extreme conservative says: "I am pretty comfortable, why agitate?" But the real progressive says, with Prof. Parsons: "Anglo-Saxon manhood, confined beneath the pressure of accumulating injustice, is the most dangerous explosive known to history." If the door of peaceful progress is not kept open, disorder is invited—even urged; but revolution has small chance where the people may mold the law.

It will simplify the law and make it respectable by making it truly in the interest of all.

It will open the door for the adoption of all other reforms as fast as the people want them. It will no longer be necessary for the people to remain helpless while vainly hoping that privileged interests and political bosses may be forced to pass just laws; nor will it be necessary to organize a political party to carry out a reform.

It will enable each citizen, without entering politics, to help make the government businesslike.

It will make it easier to elect good men and to keep them good after they are elected.

It is "representative" government with a people's check on "misrepresentative" government.

Under Direct Legislation honest corporations need not bribe a legislature in order to get a "square deal." On the other hand, dishonest corporations cannot get *more* than a "square deal" even by electing or "influencing" the legislature; because the people can always vote on any legislative act which they consider unwise or corrupt. In short, the Initiative, Referendum and Recall make it almost impossible for unfaithful officers to "deliver the goods."

*It is non-partisan.* Leading members of all parties are working for it. It has been demanded in Republican, Democratic, Populist, Prohibition, Socialist, Labor, Grange and Woman Suffrage plat-



forms. It has been adopted in Republican and in Democratic states. It has been endorsed in more than fifty platforms, and by leading men and magazines throughout the country. It means political progress.

### CONCLUSION

The late Justice Brewer, of the U. S. Supreme Court, said: "The two supreme dangers that menace a democratic state are despotism on the one hand and mob rule on the other. The more constant and universal the voice of the people makes itself manifest, the nearer do we approach to an ideal government. The Initiative and Referendum make public opinion the controlling factor in the government. The more promptly and fully public officers carry into effect such public opinion, the more truly is government of the people realized."

Aristocrats and self-seekers everywhere oppose the rule of the plain people. They claim that the people are incompetent and unsafe. Yet the world's history bluntly tells the story of meanness, misery and fraud wherever power has been placed with the few; while peace, good will and happiness have ever attended those peoples whose governments were most largely participated in by all.

### OBJECT OF THE LEAGUE

*To pledge all legislative candidates to submit a Direct Legislation constitutional amendment to a vote of the people; and to oppose the election of all candidates who will not so pledge themselves.*

This plan of campaign is necessary because the legislature (particularly the senate) has twice refused to let the people decide whether they shall adopt or reject this reform. In other words the legislature has twice said, in substance, to the people: "We will not allow you to say what you shall have in the way of legislation, but we will compel you to take what it pleases us to give you." It

should be remembered further that we are not asking the legislature to adopt Direct Legislation; we are merely asking that body to let the people vote on it.

Respectfully submitted,

THE DIRECT LEGISLATION LEAGUE  
OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON.

4144 14th Ave. N. E.,  
Seattle, Washington.

*Note.*—All who wish to investigate further are referred to "The City For the People," by Prof. Parsons. (At book stores or from C. F. Taylor, 1520 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 700 pages; cloth bound, price \$1.00; paper, 50 cents). The publishers of this pamphlet are deeply indebted to that work for many suggestions.

### EMINENT OPINIONS

*American Journal of Education:* "Men chosen by the people are not safe guardians of the rights of the people, and never will be so long as human nature is weak. Judas was only one in twelve, but he was able to betray the Master into the hands of the criminal rich. Only a small minority of a legislative body needs to be bought in order to betray the people. An honest majority in a legislature is no effective safeguard, for it may be a divided majority. Until the insurgent movement shall secure to the people the Initiative and Referendum—the people's veto—there can be no guarantee of permanence to any movement for reform."

*Wendell Phillips:* "Trust the people—the wise and the ignorant, the good and the bad—with the gravest questions, and in the end you educate the race. At the same time you secure, not perfect institutions, not necessarily good ones, but the best institutions possible while human nature is the basis and only material to build with."

*James Bryce,* in *The American Commonwealth:* "A general survey of this branch of the inquiry (Direct Legislation) leads me to the conclusion



that the people in the several states in the exercise of this, their highest function, show little of that haste, that recklessness, that love of change for the sake of change, with which European theorists, both ancient and modern, have been wont to credit democracy."

*John Wanamaker*: "I heartily approve of the idea of giving the people a veto on corrupt legislation. I trust such a movement will receive the thoughtful attention of all who would improve our political and industrial conditions. I am willing to trust public questions to the intelligence and conscience of the people."

*Rev. Lyman Abbott*: "In my judgment the remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy; a fresh appeal from the few to the many; from the managers to the people. I believe in the Referendum, and, within limits, the Initiative, because it is one form of this appeal from the few to the many."

*President Charles W. Eliot*, of Harvard University: "I believe in both the Initiative and Referendum."

*Andrew Jackson*: "So far as the people can, with convenience, speak, it is safer for them to express their own will."

*Prof. Frank Parsons*, in *The City for the People*: "The fundamental questions are: Shall the people rule or be ruled? Shall they own the government or be owned by it? Shall the laws passed and put in force be what the people want, or what the politicians and monopolists want? Direct legislation answers these questions in favor of the people, and it is the only thing that can answer them in that way, except a miraculous conversion of the politicians to wisdom and angelhood."

*William Dean Howells*: "I am altogether in favor of the Initiative and Referendum as the only means of allowing the people really to take part in making their laws and governing themselves."

*William Jennings Bryan*: "The principle of the Initiative and Referendum is democratic. It will not be opposed by any democrat who endorses the declaration of Jefferson, that the people are capable of self-government; nor will it be opposed by any republican who holds to Lincoln's idea that this should be a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

*Samuel Gompers*: "All lovers of the human family, all who earnestly strive for political reform, economic justice, and social enfranchisement, must range themselves on the side of organized labor in this demand for Direct Legislation."

*Lord Salisbury*, the great English statesman, prime minister and leader of the conservative party: "I believe that nothing could oppose a bulwark to popular passion except an arrangement for deliberate and careful reference

of any matter in dispute to the votes of the people, like the arrangements existing in the United States and Switzerland."

*Rev. B. Fay Mills*: "I will hold up both hands for the Initiative and Referendum. I sometimes think I agree with those who feel that this should be the next step in social reconstruction, as I certainly believe it will be productive of all others."

*Prof. Lecky*, conservative member of British parliament, and author of *History of European Morals*: "The Referendum would have the immense advantage of disentangling issues, separating one great question from the many minor questions with which it may be mixed. Confused or blended issues are among the greatest political dangers of our time. The experience of Switzerland and America shows that when the Referendum takes root in a country, it takes political questions, to an immense degree, out of the hands of the wire-pullers and makes it possible to decide them mainly, though perhaps not wholly, on their merits, without producing a change of government or of party predominance."

*Dr. George Gates*, President of Iowa College: "I have more confidence in Direct Legislation as a means of applying the principles of a true democracy to our public affairs than in any other movement before the public. Our American democracy is very democratic in form, but as matters now stand, very undemocratic in fact."

*Frances E. Willard*: "I believe in Direct Legislation, and think it is so greatly needed that language cannot express the dire necessity under which we find ourselves. The reign of the people is the one thing my soul desires to see; the reign of the politician is a public ignominy. I also believe that Direct Legislation is certain to become the great political issue of the immediate future. The people are being educated by events. They are coming to see that there is no hope for reform under the existing system of voting."

*Senator LaFollette*: "In my judgment the public interests would be promoted if a majority of the voters possessed the option of directing by ballot, the action of their representatives on any important issue, under proper regulations, insuring full discussion and mature consideration upon such issue by the voters, prior to balloting thereon."

*Senator Crawford*, of South Dakota: "While we have had the Initiative and Referendum a number of years, it has been invoked on but a very few occasions. Notwithstanding, it is a tremendous check on legislative wrongs."

*Senator Cummins*: "I am thoroughly in favor of both the Initiative and Referendum."

*Senator Bourne*, of Oregon: "The public servant who will not trust the people should not be trusted by the people."



## WHAT PROMINENT GOVERNORS SAY

The Governors of our various states are in a position to see the needs and abuses of legislation. Following are some opinions from this source on the wisdom of bringing law-making closer to the people:

*Gov. Charles E. Hughes, of New York:* "The only thing you can depend upon in this country is the judgment of the people after full discussion. I don't want to see the party (republican) in charge of self-appointed saviors."

*Gov. Joseph W. Folk, of Missouri:* "That the people have Direct Legislation reserved will do much to permanently end legislative corruption. There would be little use to bribe a legislature to defeat a measure if the people have the right to pass that measure over the head of the legislature. (By Initiative.) So it would be futile to bribe the legislature to pass a bill when the people have the power to veto it. (By Referendum.)"

*Gov. William T. Cobb, of Maine:* "The belief in the soundness and efficacy of the principle of the Initiative and Referendum has become very general in Maine, and has been recognized in the platforms of both political parties. I heartily approve the adoption of the measure."

*Gov. John A. Johnson, of Minnesota:* "This principle is fast gaining ground upon the theory that the duly elected officers of the people are after all but servants of the people. I firmly believe that such legislation is desirable."

*Gov. George W. Donaghey, of Arkansas:* "The sovereign people should have the right to demand any law they want through the Initiative, and annul any act by use of the Referendum; and the servants of the people should never be backward in granting them the privilege to exercise this prerogative."

*Gov. Charles N. Herreid, of South Dakota:* "Since the Referendum has been a part of our constitution, we have had no chartermongers or railroad speculators, no wildcat schemes submitted to our legislatures. Formerly our time was occupied by speculative schemes of one kind and another, but now these people do not press their schemes on the legislature, and hence there is no necessity for having recourse to the Referendum."

*Gov. Dawson, of West Virginia:* "Half-way measures will not suffice. The people are in no humor to be trifled with. The day of the Initiative and Referendum is already here; we may retard the time of its full effect, but our efforts will be in vain long to postpone the operation of the program that the people have made up their minds to carry into effect with reference to their government. He is a poor observer of the signs of the times who does not see that the people propose to take larger action in the initiation of policies, to concentrate power and responsibility—policies for the people, methods to the officers—in short, to have efficient government."

*Gov. John F. Shafroth, of Colorado:* "It puts a stop to the attempt to improperly influence members of the legislature as to acts in which the public are vitally interested. It also tends to make legislators more careful of their votes."

*Gov. Lucius F. C. Garvin, of Rhode Island:* "Against the conferring of this power, which is in complete accord with the American doctrine of republican government, no possible argument can be made, except that the qualified electors are incapable of governing themselves."

## THE PEOPLE ACT WITH WISDOM AND MODERATION

*Actual Results in Oregon.* (From the pamphlet of C. B. Galbreath, State Librarian of Ohio.)

The people of Oregon have had three general elections since the institution of Direct Legislation in that state. At the first election, 1904, they used the Initiative on two bills. At the next election, in 1906, they used the Initiative to secure the submission of five constitutional amendments and five statute laws, and they also invoked the referendum on one act of the legislature. At the election of 1908 nineteen measures were voted upon. Of these, as arranged in this table, the first four were "referred to the people by the legislative assembly." On the four following the "Referendum was ordered by petition of the people." The remaining eleven were "proposed by Initiative petition."

At this election the people instructed their representatives to vote for United States Senator, with the following result:

I. H. Amos, Prohibitionist .....	3,787
H. M. Cake, Republican .....	50,899
Geo. E. Chamberlain, Democrat .....	52,421
J. C. Cooper, Socialist .....	5,257

While the instructions were for a Democratic candidate, the General Assembly chosen at this election was strongly Republican in both branches. The instructions were obeyed and Hon. Geo. E. Chamberlain was elected United States Senator.

The following table gives the vote on measures since the introduction of direct legislation in Oregon and shows what percentage of the total vote for candidates was cast on each measure:

	Yes	No	Majority Approving	Majority Rejecting	Percentage of Total Vote for Candidates
<b>ELECTION 1902.</b>					
Total Vote 92,920.					
Original Initiative and Referendum Constitutional Amendment .....	62,024	5,668	56,356	.....	73
<b>ELECTION 1904.</b>					
Total Vote 99,315.					
Local Option Liquor Bill .....	43,316	40,198	3,118	.....	84
Direct Primary Bill .....	56,205	16,354	39,851	.....	73



# OREGON INITIATIVE

	Yes	No	Majority Approving	Majority Rejecting	Percentage of Total Vote for Candidates
<b>ELECTION 1906.</b>					
Total Vote 96,751					
Woman Suffrage Amendment.....	36,928	46,971	10,043		87
Amendment applying Initiative and Referendum to acts of Legislature affecting Constitutional conventions and amendments...	47,661	18,751	28,910		69
Amendment to give cities and towns exclusive power to enact and amend their charters...	52,567	19,942	32,625		75
Amendment affecting compensation of state printer .....	63,749	9,571	54,178		76
Amendment for Initiative and Referendum on all local, special and municipal laws.....	47,778	16,735	31,043		67
Bill proposing change in Local Option Law...	35,397	45,144		9,747	83
Bill for state-ownership of a run-down toll road .....	31,525	44,525		13,000	79
Anti-Pass Bill .....	57,281	16,779	40,502		76
Bill for license on gross earnings of sleeping, refrigerator car and oil companies.....	69,635	6,440	63,195		79
Bill for license on gross earnings of express, telegraph and telephone companies.....	70,872	6,360	64,512		80
Referendum to veto an appropriation act of Legislature .....	26,758	43,918		17,160	73
<b>ELECTION 1908.</b>					
Total Vote 116,614					
Amendment increasing compensation of members of the General Assembly.....	19,691	68,892		49,201	76
Amendment relating to location of State Institutions .....	41,975	40,868	1,107		71
Amendment increasing the number of judges of the supreme court and making other changes relative to the judiciary.....	30,243	50,591		20,348	69
Amendment changing time of holding general elections from June to November.....	65,728	18,500	47,138		72
Bill relative to the custody and employment of county prisoners .....	60,443	30,033	30,410		78
Bill providing for free transportation of public officers .....	28,856	59,406		30,550	76
Bill proposing the building of armories for the national guard .....	33,507	54,848		21,341	76
Amendment to increase appropriation for state university .....	44,115	40,535	3,580		73
Woman Suffrage Amendment .....	36,858	58,670		21,812	82
Bill prohibiting fishing for salmon or sturgeon on Sunday and at night in certain months of the year .....	46,582	40,720	5,862		75
Amendment giving power to cities and towns to regulate race tracks, pool rooms, sale of liquor, etc. ....	39,442	52,346		12,904	79
Amendment exempting property improvements from taxation, proposed by Single Taxers .....	32,066	60,871		28,805	80
Amendment providing for the recall, i. e., the removal of a public officer by vote of the people and the election of his successor....	58,381	31,002	27,379		77
Bill providing for election of United States senators by vote of the people.....	69,668	21,162	48,506		78
Amendment providing for proportional representation .....	48,868	34,128	14,740		71
Bill limiting expenditure of money in political campaigns, and against corrupt practices...	54,042	31,301	22,741		73
Bill regulating salmon fishing.....	56,130	30,280	25,850		74
Amendment providing for choosing of jurors, etc. ....	52,214	28,487	23,727		69
Bill providing for the creation of the county of Hood River .....	43,948	26,778	17,170		61

## "What Have the People of Oregon Accomplished with the Initiative and Referendum?"

Oregon City, Oregon, March 16, 1910.

The Direct Legislation League of the State of Washington,  
4144 14th Ave. N. E., Seattle.

Answering your question, "What have the people of Oregon accomplished with the initiative and referendum," I set down the following acts:

1. They have made a direct primary nominating elections law that is much more satisfactory in its results than was the old convention plan.

2. They have adopted practical methods of selecting their U. S. Senators, securing election by the legislature of the candidates selected by the people, thereby abolishing the greatest single source of corruption, waste and confusion in the legislature.

3. They have destroyed the political machine and the job of the party bosses.

4. They have abolished railroad passes within the state for public officers as well as for private individuals.

5. They have stopped the grafters' sale of franchises in Portland and other cities.

6. They have deprived the legislature of power to call a constitutional convention without the people's approval on referendum vote.

7. They have given cities home rule in charter making.

8. They have taught the legislature to respect the constitutional provision against putting special appropriations in the general appropriation bill.

9. They have added the recall to the constitution, giving the people power to discharge state and local officers who prove to be incompetent or untrustworthy.

10. They have removed the constitutional restrictions preventing proportional representation and the election by a majority instead of a plurality vote.

11. They have passed laws rejected by the legislature for taxing certain corporations.

12. They have rejected some unpopular appropriations made by the legislature.

13. They have made a stringent law against the excessive use of money in elections; a law which is designed, so far as money is concerned, to put a poor man on an equal footing with a rich man in seeking public office. It limits candidates to an expense hardly exceeding one-fourth of a year's salary in the office sought, and the state bears a large part of the outlay in the distribution of literature for parties and candidates.

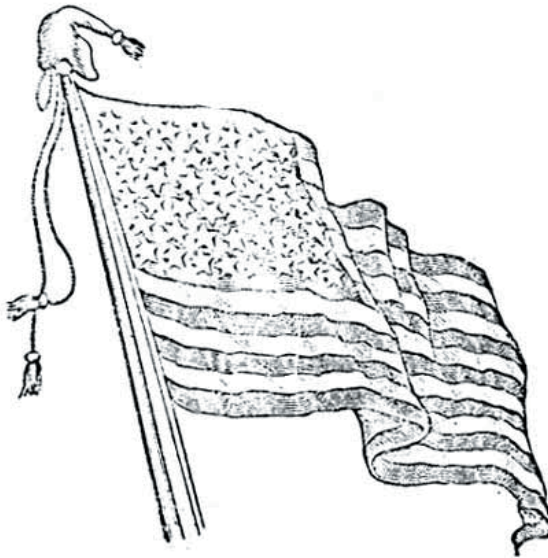
14. They have made a start toward protecting and preserving salmon and sturgeon in the Columbia river and its tributaries.

15. They are developing a sense of individual responsibility for the success of self-government in Oregon, such as most men never felt when the legislature had the exclusive right to make laws and propose constitutional amendments.

16. In addition to the above list of results, other measures have been secured and the people have rejected eleven measures, some proposed by initiative petition and some proposed by the legislature.

*William S. U'Ren*





**DIRECT LEGISLATION** is the most important issue before the American people. We cannot hope for a just and equitable solution of the great questions which confront us until the people regain full control over the powers of government. The crisis in each state calls for the co-operation of all thoughtful and patriotic men.

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**SEND FOR A CONSTITUTION AND DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, AND ORGANIZE A BRANCH LEAGUE IN YOUR OWN LOCALITY.**